

Message Text

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ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /031 W
----- 012107

P R 181300Z OCT 73
FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7448
INFO AMCONSUL BOMBAY
AMCONSUL CALCUTTA
AMCONSUL MADRAS
AMEMBASSY KABUL
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 NEW DELHI 12171

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR IN US
SUBJECT: MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER

1. I MET THIS MORNING FOR HALF AN HOUR WITH PRIME MINISTER GANDHI, HAVING REQUESTED AN APPOINTMENT TO CONVEY TWO MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT. THE FIRST IS THAT WE WERE NATURALLY PLEASED WHEN, IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT THAT THE INDEPENDENCE AND INTEGRITY OF PAKISTAN IS A CORNERSTONE OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY, THE INDIAN EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON STATED THAT IT WAS EVEN MORE A CORNERSTONE OF INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY. I SAID THE PRESIDENT WAS CONCERNED THAT DEVELOPMENTS ON THE AFGHAN BORDER NOT LEAD TO DIFFICULTIES FOR PAKISTAN, AND THAT HE HOPED INDIA WOULD SHARE THIS VIEW, IT BEING FUNDAMENTAL TO THE PEACE OF SOUTH ASIA. THE SECOND WAS THAT HE WOULD CONTINUE TO PRESS FOR A RUPEE AGREEMENT BY WHATEVER MEANS NECESSARY. I THEN ADDED A THIRD POINT, THAT THE SECRETARY HAD DECIDED IT WAS BEST I RETURN TO INDIA, RATHER THAN JOINING HIM AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT, AS HE FELT RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES WERE STEADILY IMPROVING AND THAT THIS WAS NOT THE TIME FOR THE INTERRUPTION A NEW ENVOY MIGHT ENTAIL. MY OWN
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VIEW WAS THAT OUR RELATIONS CERTAINLY WERE IMPROVING, BUT MOSTLY BECAUSE THEY WERE DIMINISHING, AND THAT I WAS CONCERNED THAT WE WOULD BOTH OF US CONCLUDE, HOWEVER INFORMALLY, THAT THE LESS WE HAD TO DO WITH ONE ANOTHER

THE MORE PEACEABLE OUR DEALINGS WOULD BE. I NOTED THAT JUST YESTERDAY I HAD RECEIVED WORD FROM THE ROECKFELLER FOUNDATION THAT AFTER FIFTY-TWO YEARS IN INDIA IT WAS LEAVING, NOT BECAUSE IT DESIRED TO BUT BECAUSE IT COULD NOT OBTAIN APPROVAL FROM THE INDIANS FOR ANY OF THE PROJECTS IT PROPOSED AND CONSEQUENTLY HAD NOTHING TO DO. I MENTIONED THAT BUSINESSMEN REGULARLY CAME TO SEE ME ASKING WHETHER IT WOULD BE WORTH THEIR WHILE TO TRY TO START UP IN INDIA, BUT THAT I COULD NEVER GIVE AN ANSWER, AS I DIDN'T HAVE ONE. I URGE THOSE WHO WANT TO CLOSE DOWN NOT TO DO SO. IT WAS FOR THIS REASON I APPRECIATED HER INTERVENTION ON BEHALF OF AMERICAN SCHOLARS WORKING IN INDIA, A MATTER OF NO CONSEQUENCE WHATEVER TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES, BUT OF IMPORTANCE TO RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO MAJOR COMMUNITIES IN OUR RESPECTIVE NATIONS.

2. THE PRIME MINISTER REPLIED THAT SHE DID NOT WISH TO SEE RELATIONS PETRIFY, BUT GAVE PRECIOUS LITTLE INDICATION THAT SHE WOULD DO ANYTHING TO PREVENT IT. WITH RESPECT TO ECONOMIC RELATIONS SHE HAD TO DEAL WITH THE PARTY MIND AND THE PUBLIC MIND THAT SAW THESE AS FORMS OF INTERVENTION IN INDIAN AFFAIRS. SHE HAD JUST BEEN TO ORISSA WHERE SHE WAS BEING TOLD OF PERSONS THERE IN TOUCH WITH OTHER PERSONS IN CALCUTTA. (HER SECRETARY, P.N. DHAR, LATER TOLD ME SHE WAS REFERRING HERE TO PEOPLE IN TOUCH WITH BURLEIGH OF OUR CONSULATE GENERAL IN CALCUTTA.) SHE ASSURED ME THAT INDEED INDIA SAW THE INDEPENDENCE AND INTEGRITY OF PAKISTAN AS A CORNERSTONE OF INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY, BUT THAT THE POLICY PAKISTAN WAS NOW FOLLOWING IN PUSHTUNISTAN AND BALUCHISTAN WOULD NOT STRENGTHEN PAKISTAN, BUT RATHER WOULD WEAKEN IT. SHE RECALLED THAT WHEN SHE HAD MET PRESIDENT NIXON PRIOR TO THE BANGLADESH CRISIS SHE HAD SAID "I DON'T THINK YOU ARE SUPPORTING PAKISTAN. IF YOU HAD TAKEN A STRONGER LINE WITH YAHYA, YOU WOULD HAVE DONE MORE FOR PAKISTAN." WHAT PAKISTAN SUBSEQUENTLY DID WAS NOT BEST FOR
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PAKISTAN. AS FOR THE PRESENT, BALUCHISTAN AND PUSHTUNISTAN ARE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF PAKISTAN. INDIA WOULD NOT INTERFERE, BUT IT NEVER HAS WORKED TO TRY TO DESTROY A PEOPLE. HERE MUCH INVOCATION OF NAMES I DID NOT RECOGNIZE. FINALLY, AFGHANISTAN HAS A LARGE PATHAN POPULATION, IT MUST BE CONCERNED THAT THIS POPULATION NOT BE AROUSED BY EVENTS IN PAKISTAN.
MOYNIHAN

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /031 W

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FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7449

INFO AMCONSUL BOMBAY

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AMEMBASSY KABUL

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 NEW DELHI 12171

EXDIS

3. I THEN SAID THAT THE GENERAL IMPRESSION IN WASHINGTON WAS THAT PEACE HAD INDEED COME TO SOUTH ASIA, AND DESPITE DIFFICULTIES HERE AND THERE, WAS GROWING STRONGER. SHE DID NOT DISAGREE, BUT SAID THE SITUATION WAS STILL UNEASY, AND TO BE REGRETTED GIVEN THE MANY OTHER PROBLEMS THAT ALL FACED.

4. OUR TALKS WAS REALLY QUITE PLEASANT. I BEGIN TO KNOW HOW TO TALK TO HER. FOR EXAMPLE, SHE RECURRENTLY GIVES IN ANSWER TO ONE QUESTION, HER INTENDED REPLY TO THE THIRD QUESTION BACK. ONE GETS THE HANG OF IT. I WAS DISAPPOINTED THAT SHE WAS SO STIFF ABOUT EXPANDING ECONOMIC RELATIONS. AT THAT POINT, P.N. DHAR, WHO WAS PRESENT, INTERJECTED TO NOTE THAT WE WERE GOING TO HAVE TRADE TALKS AFTER THE RUPEE AGREEMENT. I SAID WE WELCOMED THESE AND LOOKED FORWARD TO THEM, BUT FRANKLY, ON MY PART, WITH NO VERY GREAT EXPECTATIONS. I SAID I HOPED THE PRIME MINISTER UNDERSTOOD THAT ON OUR PART WE DO SEE THE DIFFICULTY INVOLVED FOR HER OF ESTABLISHING ANY NEW RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES. DIFFICULTIES, AS SHE PUT IT, WITH THE PUBLIC MIND, THE PARTY MIND. I SAID THAT MY PERSONAL JUDGMENT WAS THIS COULD BE OVERCOME IN PERHAPS TWENTY YEARS, AND THAT BOTH OUR
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COUNTRIES WOULD BE THERE WHEN THE TIME CAME. THIS STATEMENT MIGHT SEEM BLUNT IN A CABLE, I BELIEVE IT WAS SAID COURTESOUSLY AND RECEIVED WITH SYMPATHY AND PERHAPS A TOUCH OF RELIEF.

5. AFTERWARDS I TALKED ANOTHER TWENTY MINUTES OR SO WITH DHAR, WHO HAS BEEN SOMEWHAT CONFUSED BY PRESS ACCOUNTS THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES WAS ASKING INDIA

TO INTERVENE IN THE MIDDLE EAST IN SOME CAPACITY. AMBASSADOR
KAUL HAD REPORTED THIS AFTER A CONVERSATION WITH SECRETARY
KISSINGER AT A DINNER PARTY AT TOM BRADEN'S. I SAID I KNEW
NOTHING, SAVE THAT THE MORNING WIRELESS REPORTS THAT THE
SECRETARY WAS SEEING KAUL YESTERDAY. DHAR URGED ME NOT
TO THINK THE PRIME MINISTER WAS INDIFFERENT TO INCREASING
ECONOMIC RELATIONS. SHE HAD SAID INDIA WILL DO ITS PART,
WHICH COMING FROM HER MEANT A GREAT DEAL MORE THAN
SPEECHES FROM SOME OTHERS. I LEFT IT THAT HE KNEW
PERFECTLY WELL THAT WE HAD ALL THE TIME IN THE WORLD.
MOYNIHAN

SECRET

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